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ABSTRACT

The effects of a conference that was designed to promote scholarly communication on gender-balancing the liberal arts and sciences curriculum are analyzed. The conference, "Southern Scholars on Women," was held at the Georgia State University, March 4-7, 1981, as part of a project funded by the Women's Educational Equity Act Program. "Gender-balancing" is another term for "mainstreaming women's studies," or integrating the new scholarship on women into the curriculum. Courses focusing on woman are being introduced to colleges and accepted as part of the curriculum, and faculty are integrating the new scholarship on women into courses that do not focus on women. Implementers of gender-balancing attended the conference, and developments at their campuses were assessed. In the southern region of the country, there appears to be an increasing number of courses that focus on women or include material on women in the various disciplines. The gender-balancing conference appears to have provided knowledge and inspiration for accelerated gender-balancing activities by campus implementers. The types of organizational models of policy implementation involved and the implications of these models for the achievement of sex equity in the curriculum are discussed, along with the prospects for further advances in gender-balancing in colleges and universities. (SW)

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SEX EQUITY IN THE LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES: POLICY IMPLEMENTATION VIA GENDER-BALANCING THE CURRICULUM IN SOUTHERN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

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Public Policy Perspectives

Proponents of sex equity in education are concerned with several outcomes in educational institutions. These include, at a minimum, achieving equal status in terms of position and benefits for women in comparison to men, developing support for feminist/egalitarian teaching methods, and integrating knowledge of and about women into the curriculum.[2] Laws and regulations to advance sex equity in education have been instituted through the efforts of women's organizations and certain members of Congress and Congressional staff members.[3] While Executive Orders 11246 and 11375 and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 are regulatory tools for pursuing equal status in position and benefits for teachers, students, and administrators, the Women's Educational Equity Act authorizes a categorical program that provides monetary support in the form of grants and contracts for improving the quality of educational methods and curriculum content.[4] This report focuses on the curricular reform aspect of sex equity in education and examines the process of policy implementation in the case of a WEEA-funded project to "gender-balance" the liberal arts and sciences curriculum in higher education.[5]

"Gender-balancing" is another term for "mainstreaming Women's Studies." The concepts are being used by various projects to indicate the efforts of

faculty, administrators and students to integrate the new scholarship on women into the curriculum.[6] The new scholarship on women is that which began to be produced during the 1960s and which continues to be produced by scholars working within their disciplines or within interdisciplinary Women's Studies. The new scholarship is being brought into the curriculum in two ways. First, courses focusing on women from either disciplinary or interdisciplinary perspectives are being developed and introduced to and accepted by colleges as parts of the curriculum; these courses may or may not be parts of formal Women's Studies programs. Second, faculty are integrating the new scholarship on women into their own extant courses that do not focus on women. Given the conventional wisdom that the southern United States is one of the more conservative and traditional regions of the country, and given evidence that the South as a region has been slower to institute Women's Studies Programs,[7] it seemed reasonable to expect that an alternative strategy for incorporating the new scholarship on women into the curriculum would be the less formal approach of creating courses one by one and integrating the new knowledge into extant courses.

The rationale for gender-balancing is quite simple, but the process is complex. Feminist scholars, in a series of critical analyses, have specified any number of omissions and biases concerning women in the traditional bodies of knowledge that form the basis for the curriculum in higher education.[8] What has been offered as knowledge of universals has been shown to represent the realities and understandings largely of white masculine upper- and middle-class culture. Note that white upper- and middle-class masculine culture is not the same as the white upper- and middle-class male population. This masculine culture may or may not be accepted by that male population, and women of all races and classes and minority men may or may not aspire to the

values of the white upper- and middle-class masculine culture. In efforts to balance this knowledge, which is transmitted increasingly to students who are minority males or females of minority and majority racial and ethnic status, the new scholarship on women provides one source of corrective information and understanding of the realities of the lives of diverse types of women and the various sources of their oppression. The new scholarship on women also provides intimations of how a transformed society, a society based on equality, might appear and operate. A gender-balanced or integrated curriculum, then, is meant to expose all students, regardless of sex and race, to the full panoply of humanity and to enhance their understanding of themselves and of others as they fill societal roles or create new relationships between selves and society. Those who add the new scholarship on women to the curriculum come to realize that it is unsatisfactory merely to "balance" materials shown to be racially and sexually biased with nonracist and nonsexist materials. These scholars/teachers have begun to think in terms of theoretical restructuring of whole bodies of knowledge and transmission of restructured knowledge through a transformed curriculum.[9] Thus, gender-balancing is a stage of development in the larger process of curricular transformation.

The complex process of feminist theoretical transformation of knowledge has begun fairly recently and cannot be measured quantitatively. The process of gender-balancing is somewhat, though not entirely, amenable to quantification. We can at least talk in terms of numbers of new courses developed and accepted into the curriculum, numbers of courses reported to contain integrated knowledge, and numbers of faculty involved in and students exposed to such courses. While the quality of the courses added or integrated cannot be determined without further and different methods of study, the

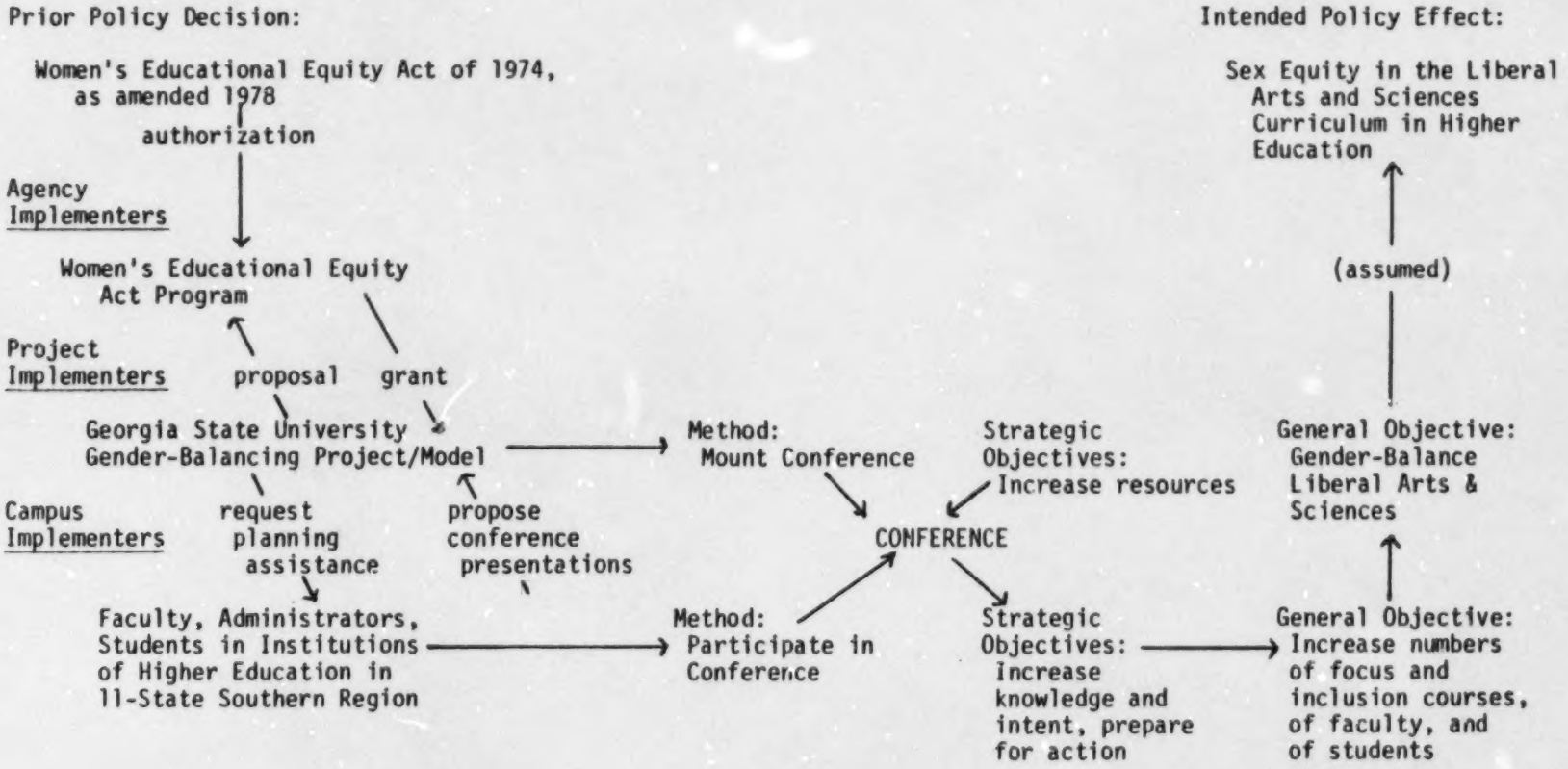
amount of change that has been occurring can be assessed roughly. It is within these limitations that a study was conducted to determine the effects of a scholarly conference as a facilitator of gender-balancing in southern institutions of higher education. The conference was part of a project funded by a federal agency, the Women's Educational Equity Act Program, to contribute to the achievement of the public policy of sex equity in education.[10] This report, then, is an analysis of gender-balancing the liberal arts and sciences curriculum in higher education as a case of policy implementation in one region of the United States.

Gender-Balancing as a Case of Policy Implementation

Van Meter and Van Horn conceptualize the policy implementation process as one of linkage between a policy and its performance.[11] They define policy implementation as "those actions by public and private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions."[12] They distinguish implementation, or policy performance, from impact or effect of the policy on its intended target. In the case of sex equity in the curriculum, we want to understand why and how the objective of gender-balancing or integrating the new scholarship on women into the curriculum of higher education is or is not achieved. For the purposes of this analysis, we assume the qualitative impact of gender-balancing will be to reform and ultimately to transform that curriculum, making it more representative of the realities of the lives of the diverse student body, and through that educational process more generally to diminish sexist attitudes and behaviors in society.

The schematic diagram in Figure 1 provides an overview of the multi-level framework for the case of policy implementation we are presenting. At the top

FIGURE 1. Diagram of Gender-Balancing Project as a Case of Policy Implementation


Prior Policy Decision:
Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974, as amended 1978
authorization
Agency Implementers
Women's Educational Equity Act Program
Project Implementers
proposal
grant
Georgia State University Gender-Balancing Project/Model
Campus Implementers
request planning assistance
propose conference presentations
Faculty, Administrators, Students in Institutions of Higher Education in 11-State Southern Region
Method: Mount Conference
Strategic Objectives: Increase resources
CONFERENCE
Method: Participate in Conference
Strategic Objectives: Increase knowledge and intent, prepare for action
Intended Policy Effect:
Sex Equity in the Liberal Arts and Sciences Curriculum in Higher Education
(assumed)
General Objective: Gender-Balance Liberal Arts & Sciences
General Objective: Increase numbers of focus and inclusion courses, of faculty, and of students

left and top right of the diagram, respectively, are the "prior policy decision," that is, the public law passed by Congress and signed by the President, and a specific part of the intended policy effect, that is, sex equity in the liberal arts and sciences curriculum of higher education.[13] The first level of policy implementation involved the establishment of the Women's Educational Equity Act Program (the agency implementers), whose mission is to administer the legislative directive.[14] The second level of policy implementation involved the proposal of and grant for a gender-balancing project to be carried out by a Women's Studies Group of faculty, administrators and students at Georgia State University (the project implementers). At the third level of policy implementation, using the Women's Studies Group's experience at Georgia State as a model, the project was designed to link faculty, administrators and students in institutions of higher education across the southern region (campus implementers) in a common effort to mount and participate in a conference presenting the new scholarship on women.

Both strategic and general objectives were stated for the project and the campus implementers. The strategic objective for the project implementers was to provide the southern regional campus implementers with resources for gender-balancing their respective liberal arts and sciences curricula. The strategic objectives for the campus implementers were to increase their knowledge of resources for gender-balancing the curriculum, solidify their intent to use the resources, and prepare to return to their respective campuses with conference materials and strategies for designing and introducing new courses on women (focus courses) or integrating extant courses (inclusion courses). The general objectives of the campus implementers were to increase, on their respective campuses, the numbers and times of offering

of focus and inclusion courses, the numbers of faculty involved with such courses and the numbers of students exposed to such courses. The collective achievement of these objectives by the campus implementers would result in the achievement of the project implementers' objective of gender-balancing the liberal arts and sciences curriculum in the southern region. Through this policy implementation process, the agency, the project and the campus implementers would be assumed to have contributed to progress toward the intended policy effect of sex equity in the liberal arts and sciences curriculum in higher education.

The study at hand focuses on the extent to which the project and campus implementers achieved the strategic and general objectives of gender-balancing the liberal arts and sciences curriculum in southern institutions of higher education. In order to analyze these effects it is useful to specify the independent, intervening, and dependent variables in the process. Policy implementation in general involves four types of variables: "interorganizational communication and enforcement activities; the characteristics of the implementing agencies; the economic, social and political environment affecting the jurisdiction or organization within which implementation takes place; and the dispositions of implementers."[15] Interorganizational communication and the dispositions of implementers are the variables to which our analysis is confined in this report.

In the gender-balancing project, the conference served as the principal mechanism of interorganizational communication between the project implementers and the campus implementers. As such, it represents the key independent variable in our analysis of the implementation process.

The campus implementers who participated in the conference brought predispositions to the conference and returned to their respective campuses

with certain dispositions about the possibilities for gender-balancing their respective curricula. These dispositions include, over and above initial predispositions, awareness of the quantity of knowledge about women and knowledge of the available resources by or about women in the various disciplines; awareness of possibilities for designing courses both interdisciplinary and within disciplines and for getting these new courses accepted into the curriculum; awareness of possibilities for integrating women's material into ongoing courses; intent to engage in various aspects of gender-balancing from developing courses to encouraging colleagues in other departments to do so; and perceived support of colleagues, administrators and students for gender-balancing activities. The dispositions of these campus implementers are thought to be key intervening variables in the implementation process.

The general objectives of the project implementers constitute the dependent variables in the analysis. These include, for each institution, gains in percentages of departments reporting focus and inclusion courses, in numbers of focus and inclusion courses, in numbers of faculty teaching focus and inclusion courses, in frequency of offering focus and inclusion courses, and in numbers of students enrolled in focus and inclusion courses.

Methods

The design of the project evaluation was quasi-experimental.[16] The campus implementers who participated in the conference were considered to represent their respective institutions, which institutions were considered to be subjects exposed to a specified treatment, the conference, in the spring of 1981. Many of the campus implementers came from institutions that had responded to a survey before the conference, in the fall of 1979, to determine

pre-conference measures of the dependent variables. The institutions that responded to the pre-conference survey but were not represented at the conference were considered to be the control group. All institutions that responded to the pre-conference survey were surveyed after the conference, in the fall of 1981, to determine post-conference measures of the dependent variables. In summary, a sample of institutions of higher education was surveyed in the fall of 1979; response from this sample determined the institutions that would constitute the treatment and control groups. In responding to a conference Call for Papers and Works of Art and being selected to be a conference presenter, or in responding to the conference registration, campus implementers selected their respective institutions into the treatment group. Institutions not represented at the conference then formed the control group.

The sample of institutions was stratified by state and by type of institution and was drawn to include, from each of the southern states,[17] the university of the state and the state university (for example, the University of Alabama and Alabama State University); the agricultural and mechanical, and the technological institutions, and an urban institution; one each of twelve possible types classified public/private, Black/white, coed/men's/women's; and one two-year college. Lists of institutions, by type, for each state were compiled from the Education Directory,[18] and random selection was used when the number of institutions of a type was more than one. The sample of institutions numbers 105. Questionnaires were sent in the fall of 1979 to liberal arts and sciences department and division heads, 1,598 departments and 33 divisions in all. Each two-year institution was assumed to have three divisions in the liberal arts and sciences: humanities, social sciences, natural sciences. All other institutions were assumed to have 17 departments

in the liberal arts and sciences: anthropology, art, biology, chemistry, economics, English, foreign languages, geography, geology, history, mathematics, music, philosophy, physics, political science, psychology, sociology. At least one departmental or divisional response was received from 96 institutions (91 percent response rate at the institutional level), and 401 usable responses from department or division heads were received (25 percent response rate at the departmental level). In the fall of 1981, similar questionnaires were sent to the department and division heads that had responded to the pre-conference questionnaire. At the institutional level, at least one response was received from 84 of the 96 institutions (88 percent response rate), and 200 of the 401 department or division heads responded (50 percent response rate). The final quasi-experimental data set contains 84 cases of institutions from which at least one department or division head responded in both the fall of 1979 and the fall of 1981. Twenty-eight of the original 105 institutions sent representatives to the conference; and 23 of these 28 institutions responded to both pre-conference and post-conference questionnaires, leaving a net total of 23 institutions in the treatment group. Of the original 77 institutions delegated to the control group, failure to respond to both pre-conference and post-conference questionnaires brought the net total to 61. A description of the institutional data set is provided in Appendix A. All conference participants (N=250) were asked to self-administer a survey instrument at the end of the conference, and 139 (56 percent response rate) did so. Not all participants were able to stay through the end of the conference, and they received and returned the questionnaire by mail.

Measurements on dependent and intervening variables were derived from responses to the surveys of department and division heads and of conference

participants, respectively. Questions used to operationalize the dependent and intervening variables are reported with the relevant parts of the findings. For the purpose of analysis of the effects of the conference on institutions, survey resoonses from department and division heads within each institution have been aggregated to provide measurements on the institutional level. Values for dependent variables have been averaged on the basis of the number of departments or divisions responding from each institution so as to make institutional results roughly comparable; numbers of responding departments or divisions vary from one to 10 per institution.

Several weaknesses of design and measurement should be addressed before the findings are presented. The weakness inherent in the overall design is the self-selection of subjects into the treatment group. It is for this type of field situation, uncontrollable in the strict experimental sense, that the quasi-experimental design has been developed.[19] Statistical controls, for example, characteristics of the institutions in the treatment and control groups,[20] were used in the analysis to account for any variations in institutions that might affect the results of the project. But theoretically we cannot conclusively determine treatment <u>effects</u> if self-selection has occurred. At most, we can determine if those institutions self-selected into the treatment group have statistically significant higher scores on the dependent variables than the institutions in the control group.

The other major weakness of the study involves several problems of measurement. First, we assume that department heads are knowledgeable about their departmental course offerings and about the content of their faculties' course syllabi. While the first assumption is likely to be valid, the validity of the second assumption is more problematic. Second, we assume that either the same department head answered both pre- and post-conference

questionnaires or different department heads at time one and time two in the same department had similar knowledge of departmental course offerings. Again, these assumptions are as problematic as the first set. Finally, uneven responses by department heads within institutions result in uneven measurement across institutions. We assume that such uneven response is randomly distributed and that whatever response is received from an institution is representative of the institution as a whole. That is, we assume that reporting departments in an institution, whether they report that they offer or do not offer certain kinds of courses, are representative of the types and quantities of offerings of nonreporting departments in an institution.

All of these measurement problems are inherent in survey research, especially by mail, where response rates, understanding of the questions asked, and actual knowledge of the respondents are far from perfect. The methods of data collection, however, were systematic. The data, problematic as they are, provide more information than were available before the project. With these limitations in mind, then, we present our findings.

Findings

Our analysis begins with an assessment of the extent to which the strategic and general objectives of the project and campus implementers were achieved. The first question to be addresssed is: To what extent were the project implementers able to provide resources to the campus implementers for gender-balancing their respective liberal arts and sciences curricula? The second question is: To what extent did the campus implementers gain knowledge of resources for gender-balancing, solidify their intent and prepare to use the resources on their respective campuses? Finally, to what extent were the project implementers' general objectives achieved, based on the presumed collective achievement of the campus implementers' gender-balancing efforts?

Resources for Gender-Balancing the Liberal Arts and Sciences Curriculum: The Conference

"A Fabric of Our Own Making": Southern Scholars on Women was presented at Georgia State University March 4-7, 1981. The conference was planned and presented by the Georgia State University Women's Studies Group with monetary support from the Women's Educational Equity Act Program supplemented by funds and services provided by various units of Georgia State University. The Southeastern Women's Studies Association co-sponsored the conference, which served as the place and program of the Association's annual meeting. The planning stage of the conference spanned 18 months and involved the Georgia State University Women's Studies Group, disciplinary scholars from colleges and universities in the Atlanta metropolitan area and Women's Studies scholars from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Mississippi. The conference could not have been mounted without the monetary support it received for faculty released time or consulting, supplies and services, and reproduction of conference materials.

As the focal point of communication between the project and campus implementers, conference development called for a multitude of written materials in the form of letters, brochures and posters during a long planning stage. Formal presentations, large-group, small-group, and interpersonal discussions, personal reflection, and written evaluation of the conference experience comprised the communications at the conference itself. An article in the New York Times,[21] fortuitously timed, and publicity in the Atlanta and the Georgia State University media formed a supportive climate of opinion for the conference.

The assumptions underlying the design of the conference were: (1) most scholars/teachers are trained in disciplines that omit, bias or trivialize

knowledge of women; (2) those interested in gender-balancing the curriculum need time-shortening devices to gather and digest the vast literature in relevant disciplines and in interdisciplinary Women's Studies; (3) gender-balancers, especially in the South, tend to feel isolated from unknown counterparts on other campuses and would benefit from a regional support network; and (4) scholarly conferences are traditional modes of communication and validation of knowledge for academics. Given these assumptions, the conference was meant to serve as a mechanism for faculty and curriculum development for those concerned with integrating the new scholarship on women into the liberal arts and sciences curriculum.

The conference was consciously designed to weave a cognitive, aesthetic and social setting in which scholars/teachers, administrators, and students could present and receive the new scholarship on women and works of women artists, discuss strategies for integrating this new knowledge into the curriculum, develop and reinforce commitment to further gender-balancing efforts on their respective campuses. The conference presented 50 research panels, workshops and performances and drew 250 participants from the 11 states of the region as well as from states outside the region. Keynote addresses on the new scholarship on women and on public policy and women's educational equity addressed the epistemological and policy issues confronting faculty, administrators, and students involved in gender-balancing the curriculum in higher education.[22] Opening and closing plenary discussion sessions centered around a simulation of faculty and administrators developing strategies to gender-balance the curriculum on an imaginary campus.[23] An exhibition of women's art filled the walls and assembly areas of the conference center.[24] Registrants received copies of research papers and slides of the art exhibition according to their requests. They left the

conference with the understanding that these materials along with the ideas and personal associations stimulated by the conference experience were resources that could be used in their own faculty and curriculum development activities.

Knowledge of and Intent to Utilize Resources for Gender-Balancing: Dispositions of Campus Implementers At the End of the Conference

An analysis of data from the evaluation questionnaire administered to conference participants at the end of the conference suggests that the strategic objectives of the project and campus implementers were achieved. Of the 139 respondents, 54 percent were faculty, 21 percent were administrators, 20 percent were students, and 5 percent were not academically affiliated. Note that response formats for the questions about awareness and knowledge and perceptions of possibilities for gender-balancing activities allowed respondents to take into account, or control for, pre-conference predispositions.

All conference participants were asked in a close-ended format how the conference had affected their awareness of the quantity of knowledge about women and their knowledge of available resources by or about women in the various disciplines. Table 1 displays the responses to these questions. Clearly the conference achieved the objective of increasing awareness and knowledge of the new scholarship on women.

Participants were asked to what extent they now saw possibilities for designing courses about women in their disciplines, designing interdisciplinary courses, getting these courses accepted into the curriculum, and integrating women's materials into ongoing "traditional" courses. Tables 2 and 3 display the responses to these questions. Overall, it appears that

TABLE 1. Conference Participants' Awareness and Knowledge of the New Scholarship on Women

Question	Percent Answering:			
	Had no effect	Reinforced my awareness/ knowledge	Increased my awareness/ knowledge	
How has the conference affected your awareness of the quantity of knowledge about women that is available in the various disciplines?	3	42	55	(N=139)
How has the conference affected your knowledge of available resources by or about women in the various disciplines?	3	23	74	(N=138)

TABLE 2. Faculty Perceptions of Possibilities for Gender-Balancing the Curriculum: Designing New Courses

Question: To what extent do you now see possibilities for	Percent Answering: no more than I saw before	some that I had not considered before	many that I had not considered before	none, because of lack of mechanism for interdisciplinary courses at my institute	
integrating new material of and about women into traditional courses?	17	64	19	NA	(N=135)
designing courses about women in your discipline?	20	65	15	NA	(N=131)
designing interdisciplinary courses about women?	7	61	18	14	(N=131)

TABLE 3. Faculty Perceptions of Possibilities for Gender-Balancing the Curriculum: Getting New Courses Accepted

Question	Percent Answering: fewer possibilities than I thought existed before	as many possibilities as I thought existed before	more possibilities than I thought existed before	
To what extent do you now see possible strategies for getting new courses about women accepted into the curriculum at your institution?	3	60	37	(N=109)

the conference enlarged the visions of these campus implementers and pointed to some possibilities for action that had not been considered before the conference.

Statements of intent to engage in 10 aspects of gender-balancing were requested from the participants. These statements were designed to serve as a source of information on conference effects for the evaluators as well as a method of crystallizing and reinforcing new ideas for the participants. Participants were asked to check the actions they intended to take in their institutions. Table 4 displays the percentages intending to take the various actions; the percentages are arranged by magnitude. Of particular interest to those with the ultimate concern of transforming the traditional male-centered liberal arts and sciences curriculum is the finding that the efforts intended by the greatest numbers of these implementers will be in course-integration activities.

Success in implementation will require the support of other intermediaries in addition to the efforts of individuals. Participants were asked to rate the perceived support for gender-balancing (positive, negative, neutral) of faculty, administrators and students at their institutions. Of the respondents, 60 percent perceived support from one or more types of institutional representatives; only 16 percent perceived opposition from one or more types. The other 24 percent perceived neither support nor opposition, apparently indicating neutral settings. Participants also were asked to name community groups that they perceived as supporting or opposing gender-balancing activities. A variety of women's groups and other politically sensitive groups, all supportive, were named by 42 percent of the respondents. These groups external to the institutions included the major women's and Blacks' civil rights groups--NOW and NAACP; AAUP; AAUW; League of

TABLE 4. Conference Participants Intending to Engage in Gender-Balancing Actions

Type of Action	% Intending to Take Action (Base number of respondents)
Encourage departmental colleagues to integrate material in ongoing courses	63 (123)
Integrate material in course I teach	58 (122)
Encourage colleagues in other departments to design focus courses	50 (122)
Introduce my focus course(s) to curriculum change process	46 (120)
Encourage departmental colleagues to design focus courses	45 (121)
Encourage colleagues in other departments to integrate materials in ongoing courses	44 (124)
Encourage colleagues to design interdisciplinary courses	41 (122)
Design interdisciplinary course	34 (121)
Design focus course in my discipline	33 (121)
Encourage others to introduce focus courses to curriculum change process	33 (122)

Women Voters; YWCA; state and local education associations; various women's professional organizations (law, engineering, medical, communications); the Unitarian Church; Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority.

Overall it would appear that campus implementers are more likely than not to work in supportive climates scattered among southern institutions of higher education. The relationship between a combined measure of conference participants' intent to engage in various gender-balancing activities on campus and a combined measure of participants' perceptions of the three types of institutional support was examined; the correlation is .49. This finding suggests that given the good level of institutional support generally and given the success of the conference in providing information and inspiration, gender-balancing should continue to develop in the region.

The Achievement of General Project Objectives:
Toward a Gender-Balanced Liberal Arts and Sciences
Curriculum in the Southern United States

Analyses of the quasi-experimental evaluation data provide a basis for assessing the effects of the conference as an intervention strategy to further sex equity in education through gender-balancing the liberal arts and sciences curriculum in the South. The dependent variables in the analyses were measured with the following questions seeking information from department and division heads about numbers of focus and inclusion courses, numbers of faculty teaching the courses, frequency of offerings, and numbers of students enrolled.

> Most institutions of higher education in the country now regularly offer courses on women-related areas of knowledge. At the same time, increasing numbers of faculty are integrating material about women and gender-related issues with traditional course materials.
>
> In this questionnaire we are interested in learning from you about <u>both</u> types of courses: (1) those that

focus primarily on women or gender-related materials, and (2) those that integrate such materials into ongoing traditional courses. Some examples of the first type are Women in History, Women in Science, and the like. Examples of the second type include sections on Women in Congress in an Introduction to American Government or on Women in the Labor Force in a course on Labor Economics.

We realize that each discipline has its own particular approach to knowledge about women. For example, in mathematics or the natural sciences, equations and formulae may be genderless, but the history and work of women theorists in these areas could also be presented. In some disciplines the subject woman may be included routinely, for example, female reproductive systems in biology, or the role of women in marriage and the family in sociology. Please include all such courses offered by your department in your answers to the following questions. Use extra sheets if necessary.

1. Does your department offer any undergraduate courses that focus primarily on women or gender-related material? _____Yes. _____No. If yes, please list the names of the courses, and designate frequency of offering (e.g., once a year, quarter, semester), average number of students enrolled in each class, year first offered.

   How many of your departmental faculty teach the above-described courses?

2. Do your departmental faculty include in any of their courses readings or other material on any aspect of women's lives, women's ways of viewing reality, or women's achievement? _____Yes. _____No. If yes, please list the names of such courses and designate the frequency of offering and average number of students enrolled in each class.

   How many of your departmental faculty teach the course(s) just listed?

The first set of analyses tests the null hypothesis that the conference had no effect on changes in the numbers of courses, students, and faculty involved in gender-balancing activities. The level of significance of F required to reject the null hypothesis is set at .05. Table 5 presents the results of a repeated measures analysis of variance of each of the 10 dependent variables.[25]

TABLE 5. Effects of the Conference and Time on Gender-Balancing in Southern Institutions of Higher Education

Dependent Variables	Mean Scores Treatment	Control	Degrees of Freedom	Effects of Treatment F	sign.	Time F	sign.	Interaction F	sign.
% reporting departments reporting inclusion	(N=23)	(N=60)							
pre-conference	38.70	44.25	1/81	0.12	.72	1.80	.18	0.44	.51
post-conference	48.80	47.67							
%reporting departments reporting focus									
pre-conference	27.75	19.88	1/81	2.96	.09	5.33	.02*	0.42	.52
post-conference	39.42	26.42							
average number of inclusion courses per reporting department									
pre-conference	1.20	1.49	1/81	0.08	.78	0.23	.63	1.51	.22
post-conference	1.73	1.26							
average number of focus courses per reporting department									
pre-conference	.44	.39	1/81	0.38	.54	0.72	.40	0.07	.79
post-conference	.58	.46							
average frequency of inclusion courses per annum per reporting department									
pre-conference	18.22	20.86	1/81	0.09	.77	22.37	.00*	0.18	.68
post-conference	2.31	1.87							
average frequency of focus courses per annum per reporting department									
pre-conference	4.15	2.96	1/81	0.03	.86	13.73	.00*	1.84	.18
post-conference	.45	1.26							
average number of students reached per annum per reporting department in inclusion courses	(N=23)	(N=57)							
pre-conference	164.00	176.00	1/78	0.30	.58	28.84	.00*	0.33	.57
post-conference	2306.00	1902.00							
average number of students reached per annum per reporting department in focus courses	(N=23)	(N=56)							
pre-conference	19.00	9.00	1/77	0.66	.42	4.97	.03*	0.71	.40
post-conference	423.00	905.00							
average number of faculty per reporting department teaching inclusion	(N=23)	(N=60)							
pre-conference	2.23	1.65	1/81	1.96	.16	1.10	.30	0.09	.76
post-conference	2.81	1.97							
average number of faculty per reporting department teaching focus									
pre-conference	.42	.38	1/78	1.66	.20	1.43	.23	1.71	.19
post-conference	.67	.37							

As can be seen in Table 5, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected for any of the dependent variables. The conference had no effect on overall gains or losses on the various indicators of gender-balancing. Rather, significant differences between pre-conference and post-conference mean scores are found for several of the dependent variables. The pre- and post-conference mean scores on each of the dependent variables for the treatment and control groups are provided to enable us to interpret the directions of change over time. The percent of reporting departments reporting focus courses increased. The average frequency per annum of offering both focus and inclusion courses decreased, while the average numbers of students reached per annum by focus and inclusion courses increased.

These findings suggest that the project evaluation reflects an historical development of gender-balancing that has been occurring in the South over the past few years. The success of the conference itself apparently is a reflection of the ongoing process. First, more departments are offering courses that focus on women in 1981 than were offering such courses in 1979. It is interesting to note that though the results are not quite statistically significant at the .05 level, the analysis reveals that institutions in the control group increased their reporting of focus courses by about six and one-half percent. Institutions represented at the conference, on the other hand, reported higher percentages before the conference than institutions in the control group reported after the conference, and the percentages reported by institutions in the treatment group increased by about 11 1/2 percent over the two-year period of the evaluation. This finding could be interpreted as supportive of the notion, stated above in the section on methods, that institutions already predisposed to gender-balancing through the development of more courses that focus on women found the conference to be a useful resource for reinforcing and furthering their efforts.

Second, cutbacks in scheduling have occurred at the same time that student enrollments have increased in both focus and inclusion courses. Possibly courses that were offered more often experimentally to respond to developing student and faculty interest could be offered less frequently and with better chance of making, once student enrollments passed a critical threshold of size. As faculty offered and students learned of, enrolled in and evaluated positively such courses, a stabilization of efficient scheduling could be achieved.

A second set of analyses sought to determine whether gains and losses in the aggregate masked effects of the conference on individual institutions' gains and losses. Analyses of covariance of gain scores, which were constructed for each dependent variable by subtracting post-conference values from pre-conference values, were used to test the null hypothesis that, controlling for the effects of institutional characteristics related to change,[26] the conference had no effect on gains or losses on the various indicators of gender-balancing. Again the level of significance of F required to reject the null hypothesis is set at .05. The null hypothesis could not be rejected for any of the dependent variables, and for the sake of space the results are not reported. The conference had no effects on gains or losses on the various indicators of gender-balancing in either public or private institutions.

At this point, then, we must conclude that the conference that was funded and mounted to provide resources for faculty and curriculum development in gender-balancing had no statistically significant effects on the general objectives of the project implementers. At least two possible explanations for this conclusion can be offered. The first has been suggested already in the section on methods. Problems of measurement may have resulted in real

change having gone undetected. The second explanation is more substantive and concerns the nature of curricular change generally and the limitations set by funding agencies on the length of a project. If gender-balancing does occur at a greater rate as a result of the resources, energy and support generated by the conference, this change will take longer to develop than the seven months between the end of the conference and the administration of the final post-conference questionnaire. The development of new courses, their passage through the channels of curriculum committees and their formal acceptance at faculty meetings take at least one year and usually more to accomplish. The full integration of new materials into extant courses requires time for reading the new materials, reconceptualizing and reorganizing course content. Neither of these aspects of gender-balancing could be accomplished on a large scale in time to be registered in the post-conference survey.

Although quantitative data do not reflect statistically significant effects of the conference as an intervention to further a gender-balanced liberal arts and sciences curriculum, supplemental qualitative data from conference participants both from institutions in the sample and from other institutions in the region provide a sense of seeds planted or nurtured for future growth and development. At the same time that department and division heads in the institutions in the treatment and control groups were sent the post-conference survey, conference participants were sent a short open-ended questionnaire requesting a report on the status of their own gender-balancing activities and an assessment of the usefulness of the various resources made available through the conference.

Forty-seven of the 250 conference participants (almost 20 percent) returned the questionnaire, many with very detailed reports. Many especially noted the usefulness of the conference papers, slides of the art exhibition,

and bibliographies for their own professional development and course development and for sharing with colleagues and students. About half reported at least one course being developed and making its way through the curriculum process or being integrated. Several noted how useful the conference and the printed list of participants and addresses had been for networking; they no longer felt so isolated on their own campuses or in their scholarly work outside institutional frameworks. For example, a Ph.D. candidate who taught for seven years and then relocated when her husband's job changed said, "Here . . . I have been engaged in the lonely task of combining scholarship and motherhood: I have had three articles accepted for publication . . . and am finally working on the fifth and last chapter of my doctoral dissertation . . . . The few hours my babysitters' schedules permitted me to attend [Southern Scholars on Women] were priceless to me. I lunched with X, who is a pioneer in my field. I've established what I hope will prove an enduring correspondence with Y, whose work also has relevance to my own. I've received some warm words of encouragement from Z. All these women are my sheroes (sic). I can't tell you what all this has meant to me."

Several noted how in awe they felt to be surrounded by so many lively, stimulating, mostly female scholars. An assistant dean said, "It is impossible for me to pinpoint any specific benefit of the conference in terms of a personal product. However, I feel it to have been of immense value in raising my consciousness to the breadth of the women's movement within the academic community. I was inspired and reinforced by the conference."

Several voiced the need for more conferences to follow this one. "Frankly I think that there should have been two or three conferences scheduled, perhaps a year or two apart. Patriarchy is so hard to erode that one conference is only an introduction--but it was a very creative and useful

beginning," said one participant. Another said, "The conference encouraged me to go ahead with several efforts about which I had only thought. . . . We need, I think, more such conferences, to provide impetus and encouragement for those of us who find little support within our own university."

Finally, one senses from several remarks that a process was started by the conference for some, and this process will unfold over time. As one participant reflected, "I think that the most important result of the conference for me was that I was forced to consider and reconsider how I was teaching my courses. I was also stimulated to speak out more forcefully within the department to encourage others to begin to integrate women into their courses." According to another participant, "The conference served two purposes for me. The first was to bring to me information which I had not previously had access to or knowledge about. That broadened my understanding of women in academe. . . . The second was psychological: I returned to my home institution more determined than ever to work toward gender-balancing in my own courses first and then in the curriculum as a whole."

Conclusions

An analysis of the effects of a facilitative conference as a mode of scholarly communication on gender-balancing the liberal arts and sciences curriculum suggests that certain macro-level forces and micro-level variables are playing an important role in this implementation process in the southern region. At the macro-level, while no statistically significant effects of the conference could be detected, nevertheless there appears to be development over time of increasing numbers of courses that focus on women or include material on women in the various disciplines. Though the frequency of scheduling such courses has declined since 1979, the numbers of students

enrolled in both types of courses have increased. At the micro-level a gender-balancing conference appears to have provided knowledge and inspiration for accelerated gender-balancing activities by campus implementers, though perceived institutional support will play a role in furthering or thwarting individual campus implementers' efforts to change their curricula. At this point, course integration seems to have priority over the development of courses that focus on women for these campus implementers.

These findings can be interpreted in the context of a larger policy implementation perspective. Two points are to be made, one concerning the types of organizational models of policy implementation involved and the other concerning the implications of these organizational models for the achievement of sex equity in the liberal arts and sciences curriculum.

Elmore has developed four organizational models by which the implementation of federally mandated social programs can be more finely analyzed and understood: the systems management model, the bureaucratic process model, the organizational development model, and the conflict and bargaining model. He briefly and succinctly summarizes these models as follows:

> The systems management model treats organizations as value-maximizing units and views implementation as an ordered, goal-directed activity. The bureaucratic process model emphasizes the roles of discretion and routine in organizational behavior and views implementation as a process of continually controlling discretion and changing routines. The organizational development model treats the needs of individuals for participation and commitment as paramount and views implementation as a process in which implementors shape policies and claim them as their own. The conflict and bargaining model treats organizations as arenas of conflict and views implementation as a bargaining process in which the participants converge on temporary solutions but no stable result is ever reached.[27]

Each of these models highlights certain important aspects of the process of gender-balancing the curriculum, and together they point to areas of more and of less probable progress in achieving the policy of sex equity in the curriculum. Initially the organizational development model is most applicable to the gender-balancing process facilitated by the project implementers. The organizational development model assumes maximum individual control over work and stresses the importance of motivating individuals who are committed to the policy goal to form work groups where interaction and mutual support among committed individuals in agreement with the policy goal can guide action. Assuming that faculty members exercise control over what they teach in the classroom, the project implementers designed a conference that would form a short-term work group that would mobilize energies and resources and would be replicated in miniature on the various campuses to the extent that campus implementers could bring together interested colleagues on their respective campuses. Elmore points out that "The organizational capacity to accept innovations necessarily precedes the innovations themselves, so one can't expect individuals to respond to new policies unless they are predisposed to do so."[28] In other words, the project implementers were able to locate, bring together and provide resources to those faculty, administrators and students who were predisposed to become involved in gender-balancing the curriculum.

But what of the faculty on campus who are not predisposed to work for sex equity in the curriculum and who will not integrate women-related materials into their courses? Granted, they cannot stop their colleagues from integrating women-related materials into the courses their colleagues already teach, but they can refuse to integrate their own courses. Here Elmore's bureaucratic process model provides insight. This model points to the importance of discretion and routine on the part of campus implementers.

Faculty, as already stated, have great discretion in what they teach in the classroom, and they also develop routines to help them cope with the stresses of working in the complex bureaucracy that most higher educational institutions have become. They resist change to their routines or to their areas of discretion, because, according to Elmore, "these things are a concrete expression of their special competence, knowledge, and status in the organization."[29] In the bureaucratic process model, the key to implementation is locating areas of discretion--faculty control over course content in the case of course integration--and "inducing"[30] campus implementers to adopt policy-related new routines.

But inducement of those faculty not in agreement with sex equity policy goals is well-nigh impossible, given the belief in expertise in areas of specialization. If campus implementers cannot induce colleagues to integrate women-related materials into extant courses, will campus implementers be any more likely to succeed in getting courses on women past the votes of their negative colleagues? In hostile settings, gender-balancing becomes a conflictual issue. At this point Elmore's conflict and bargaining model is instructive. This model points to the instability of the ability to gain objectives in an organization. Each implementer or group of implementers can develop power resources in the form of position, knowledge, money and external political support. These resources may be used by campus implementers to persuade or to bargain tacitly or explicitly in the curriculum development process.

Though faculty behave as peers in the curriculum process, decisions made by peers and superiors concerning promotion and tenure may indirectly affect the behavior of those concerned with gender-balancing the curriculum. Elmore's systems management model is most instructive here. The key to

understanding this model is that it is normative. According to this model, superiors try to keep organizational behavior in line with predetermined policy goals. Superiors are concerned with objectives, the use of incentives to reward campus implementers who perform according to set goals or to punish those who stray. To the extent that gender-balancing is not an acceptable goal in a particular institution, faculty members concerned with gender-balancing must and do find ways to cope with the realities of this normative model or attempt to bring the policy goals of their respective institutions into line with their own policy goals for sex equity.

Given this analysis of organizational processes for implementation, what are the prospects for further advances in gender-balancing in institutions of higher education, at least in the South and perhaps in the nation generally? Van Meter and Van Horn classify policies according to "the amount of change involved, and the extent to which there is goal consensus among the participants in the implementation process."[31] The policy of sex equity in the liberal arts and sciences curriculum ultimately involves comprehensive change; and while there are pockets of support for the policy, there is no consensus on its legitimacy. Thus, in the final analysis, a totally integrated, gender-balanced curriculum would be what Van Meter and Van Horn classify as a major change/low consensus policy, and it would be difficult to achieve.

Gender-balancing as a strategy, however, involves course integration and development of courses on women. Curriculum change by its nature can occur incrementally, course by course. As we have seen, those who wish to integrate the new scholarship on women into their present courses may do so. This represents a minor change/low consensus approach, because the principle of academic freedom requires only the time and thought of the individual campus

implementer concerned. Course development and faculty acceptance of the course into the curriculum may involve conflict, in committee or in the full faculty meeting, and thus may require bargaining and the possibility of losing. This approach could be classified as moderate change/low consensus, and the results will be problematic depending on the supportiveness of the institutional setting.

All of this is to say that a completely gender-balanced and ultimately transformed liberal arts and sciences curriculum will not happen in a year. But steady pursuit of components of the goal, discipline by discipline, with the support of funding from outside the colleges and universities and of innovative groups on and off campus will bring the policy closer to full implementation in the foreseeable future.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The authors share equal responsibility for this research and thus are listed in alphabetical order. We gratefully acknowledge the comments of Professor Susette Talarico on an earlier draft of this paper. We also thank Ms. Lucy Hayes, Dean Clyde W. Faulkner, and Professors Charles B. Pyles and Donald L. Fairchild, past and present chairpersons, respectively, of the Department of Political Science, Georgia State University, for organizational support.

[2]Comprehensive analyses of all these facets of sex equity are presented in Alice S. Rossi and Ann Calderwood, eds., Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973). For more recent analyses of feminist curricular reform in particular, see Florence Howe, Seven Years Later: Women's Studies Programs in 1976 (Washington, D.C.: National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, 1977); and the Women's Studies Monograph Series (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, various dates).

[3]Andrew Fishel and Janice Pottker provide a history of these legislative and rule-making efforts in National Politics and Sex Discrimination in Education (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1977). See also Jo Freeman, "Women on the Move: The Roots of Revolt," in Academic Women on the Move for an analysis of these efforts.

[4]On the regulatory trend in educational policy, see Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, The Evolution of A Problematic Partnership: The Feds and Higher Ed (Washington, D.C.: ACIR, 1981). The Women's Educational Equity Act is Section 408 of P.L. 93-380, Education Amendments of 1974; as amended, Title IX, Part C, of P.L. 95-561, Education Amendments of 1978. The legislative history of the 1974 WEEA is included in Fishel and

Pottker, National Politics and Sex Discrimination. A brief history of the 1978 WEEA is given in Mary Ann Millsap and Leslie R. Wolfe, "A Feminist Perspective in Law and Practice: The Women's Educational Equity Act," in Marguerite Ross Barnett, ed., Comparing Race, Gender and National Origin School Desegregation (New York: AMS Press, forthcoming).

[5]Diane L. Fowlkes and Charlotte S. McClure, co-directors, "A Model for Gender-Balancing the General Curriculum in Higher Education," Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Women's Educational Equity Act Program, September 15, 1979, to March 14, 1982, Grant No. G007901140. See also Diane L. Fowlkes and Charlotte S. McClure, eds., Feminist Visions: Toward a Transformation of the Liberal Arts Curriculum (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, forthcoming).

[6]The most recent and comprehensive listing of these projects is Martha Tolpin, "Directory of Programs: Integrating Women into Higher Education Curricula," (n.d. [January 1982]). The "Directory" was prepared under a grant from the Ford Foundation to Higher Education Resource Services-New England at Wellesley College. Updates of the "Directory" will be prepared by, and all versions of the "Directory" will be available from, Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts 02181. Descriptions of selected projects may be found in "The Study of Women in the Liberal Arts Curriculum," (whole issue) The Forum for Liberal Education 4 (October 1981), 1-18, which also includes a very full and useful annotated bibliography on resources for integrating women into the curriculum; see also Myra Dinnerstein, Sheryl R. O'Donnell and Patricia MacCorquodale, "Integrating Women's Studies into the Curriculum," A Report to the Association of American Colleges on the Conference "Integrating Women's Studies into the Liberal Arts Curriculum," sponsored by the Southwest Institute for Research on Women,

University of Arizona, with the support of the Rockefeller Family Fund and the National Endowment for the Humanities, Princeton, New Jersey, August 27-30, 1981.

[7]Donna Jean Wood, "Women's Studies Programs in American Colleges and Universities: A Case of Organizational Innovation," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1979.

[8]Critical reviews of scholarship on women contain citations to and build on critical reviews of earlier disciplinary scholarly treatments of women. The best place to begin collecting and reading this increasing body of feminist scholarly criticism is in Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, published by the University of Chicago Press beginning in 1975.

[9]Beth Reed, Director, Women's Studies Program, Great Lakes Colleges Association, is to be credited with advancing the notion of feminist transformations of knowledge and curriculum in comparison to gender-balancing, mainstreaming and integrating. See proceedings of the conferences she has presented in Ann Arbor, Michigan, each summer: "The Structure of Knowledge: A Feminist Perspective," 1979; "Toward a Feminist Transformation of the Academy," 1980; "Toward a Feminist Transformation of the Academy, II," 1981.

[10]Diane L. Fowlkes and Charlotte S. McClure, co-directors, "A Fabric of Our Own Making": Southern Scholars on Women, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia, March 4-7, 1981. "A Fabric of Our Own Making" is from Suzanne K. Langer, "The Growing Center of Knowledge," in Philosophical Sketches (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1962), p. 147.

[11]Donald S. Van Meter and Carl E. Van Horn, "The Policy Implementation Process: A Conceptual Framework," Administration and Society, 6 (1975), 445-88.

[12]Ibid., p. 447.

[13]The totality of the intended policy effect, as stated in the Women's Educational Equity Act, Title IX, Part C, P.L. 95-561, is to provide "educational equity for women" and "financial assistance to enable educational agencies and institutions to meet the requirements of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972." Educational equity for women is to be developed in curricula and textbooks, preservice and inservice training, research and development activities, guidance and counseling activities, education for adult women, under- and unemployed women, and women's vocational education and career education, physical education and educational administration. All levels of education, kindergarten through higher education, are targeted by the Act. The project at hand is directed at curricula, specifically the liberal arts and sciences in higher education.

[14]For a history of the Women's Educational Equity Act Program, which began as an assignment to the Women's Program Staff, and an analysis of WEEAP's rule-making process, see Millsap and Wolfe, "Feminist Perspective in Law and Practice."

[15]Van Meter and Van Horn, "Policy Implementation Process," p. 465.

[16]Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley, Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research (Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1966).

[17]The southern states are those of the old Confederacy: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

[18]See the Education Directory (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1979).

[19]Campbell and Stanley, Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs.

[20]These organizational characteristics included total number of students (size and diversity); percent Black students (diversity); public/private

(supply); percents full-time and part-time female students (demand); annual tuition (quality) and were among those suggested by the analysis of Wood, "Women's Studies Programs."

[21]Leslie Bennetts, "Women's Viewpoints Gain Respect in Academe," New York Times, December 2, 1980, pp. C1, C6.

[22]The keynote addresses were Jewel L. Prestage, "On Women's Educational Equity as Public Policy," March 4, 1981; and Catharine R. Stimpson, "Women as Knowers," March 5, 1981.

[23]Charlotte L. Robinson, "Gender-Balancing the Curriculum: When Professors Take Action," a case study and simulation, March 4 and March 7, 1981.

[24]Zenaide Reiss, organizer, "A Fabric of Our Own Making," February 23 - March 7, 1981, Urban Life Center, Georgia State University.

[25]We used the repeated measures ANOVA (Program P2V) in W.J. Dixon and M.B. Brown, eds., BMDP-77: Biomedical Computer Programs P-Series (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 552-5.

[26]These variables are discussed in note 22.

[27]Richard F. Elmore, "Organizational Models of Social Program Implementation," Public Policy 26 (1978), 185-86.

[28]Ibid., p. 216.

[29]Ibid., p. 201.

[30]Ibid., p. 200.

[31]Van Meter and Van Horn, "Policy Implementation Process," p. 458.

APPENDIX A. Southern Institutions Responding to Both Pre- and Post-Conference Questionnaires and Attending Conference (Treatment Group), By Type of Institution

Type	Number in Sample	Number Responding		Number Not Responding
		Treatment	Control	
University	10	8	2	0
State University	10	3	7	0
A & M Institution	6	2	3	1
Technical Institution	8	4	4	0
Urban University	7	3	3	1
Public White Coed	12	1	9	2
Public White Male	1	0	1	0
Public White Female	2	1	1	0
Public Black Coed	7	0	5	2
Private White Coed	11	0	9	2
Private White Female	7	0	6	1
Private Black Coed	10	0	6	4
Private Black Male	1	0	0	1
Private Black Female	2	1	0	1
Two-Year College	11	0	5	6